SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OFINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS BEON CURRENT TOPICS COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Disorganizing Programme of the Democracy.

From the N. Y. Times. It must be admitted that the Republican party in Congress has, during the last couple of years, set some very bad precedents. But none that we know of quite justifies the plan provided for the Democratic party in the event of its return to power.

This plan, so far as it pertains to the Southern States, is plain enough. It amounts to no more and no less than a summary overthrow of whatever has been or may be done under the Reconstruction acts, and the unconditional restoration of the old Governments to immediate, unrestricted Congressional repregentation.

An attempt is made to justify this procedure by a reference to the action of the late and the resent Congress. The effort, however, starts with a misstatement. The remark of the World that "the Republican party has educated the people to believe that Congress has the most absolute discretion in deciding what is and is not a valid State Government," is not sustained by any formal action of the party in or out of Congress. Some of its action doubtless looks that way, and some of its prominent members have put forward the pretension, and we may look for endeavors to embody it in legislation; but thus far no meagure that has been passed, or that has been approved by the party, sanctions it to the extent which the World assumes. On the contrary, it is certain that the scheme by which a few extreme men propose to force universal suffrage upon all the States, under the pretense of guaranteeing to them republican government, would be voted down in any regular convention of the party, and will fail in Congress whenever it is brought for-

But, it is said, Congress has already "exercised such discretion in upsetting the governments of ten States;" whence it follows "that the next Congress will be just as free to recognize new white, as this Congress is to recognize new negro governments in the Southern States." The inference is untenable because the cases are not analogous. The Democratic hypothesis is, of course, that the Rebellion, being the exercise of a reserved constitutional right, entailed no penalty; that its suppression ended the business; and that from that moment the white citizens resumed their old supremacy in the State governments and their old relations to the Union. This view, however, has been repudiated by the people now represented in the Government. It formed the issue between the Republican and Democratic parties, and was decided adversely to the latter. The open question was, whether the work of reorganizing belonged to the President or to Congress, and this, too, was decided in favor of Congress. All the "apsetting that occurred in the premises had reference to Mr. Johnson's handiwork, which had but a scant resemblance to regular organi-

Besides, whatever be the faults of the reconstruction scheme-and they are many and serious-at least it proceeds on the only principle which underlies popular government. The governments upset were irregular organizations, making small pretense to legitimacy in their origin or none to universal or impartial representation of the people concerned. While, then, Congress has exercised its authority-call it unconstitutional if you will-this, at any rate, may be urged in its behalf-that it interfered in the interest of the whole people, white and black; whereas the "discretion" which the Democrats propose to exercise, would be in favor of the whites only at the exp-use of black disfranchisement. The distinction is material. For, though certain classes of whites are now disfranchised, they are so small a fraction of the entire body that they do not invalidate the general argument. If the Southern governments be negro governments, therefore let us not forget that the exclusion of the whites is, as a rule, self-imposed. They are at liberty to participate in the governments on a basis of equality. They demand supremacy based on color, and the bastard Democracy of the World indorses their claim.

The same journal adheres to its revolution ary method of overcoming the Republican majority in the Senate. On the assumption that the Democrats will elect the next President and a majority of the next House, it suggests that the Senators whom the Southern whites may send to Washington shall unite with the Northern Democratic Senators, and that the Senate thus composed shall be recognized by the President and the House. This step, the World contends, "is defensible on perfectly solid grounds," but our contemporary prudently abstains from stating them. Since each Chamber has the sole right to determine the eligibility of its own members, how does the World propose to obtain the admission of Southern Senators, whom the majority of the existing Senate will refuse to acknow ledge? The whole proceeding would be revolutionary. In the first place, the elections by whites alone, in the Southern States, would be in effect an insurrectionary movement; and the forcible intrusion of Senators, elected in pursuance of insurrection, to occupy seats already regularly filled, would be of the same character. At every stage the affair would be revolutionary. We have little fear that matters will reach this point. But the fact that it is deliberately contemplated as a part of the Democratic policy, shows the difficulties and dangers that would attend the triumph of that

General Grant Among the Politicians-A Little Friendly Advice. From the N. Y. Herald.

General Grant stands in the way of several nice little schemes for the Presidential succession in both the Republican and Democratic camps. He stands in the way of the radical Chase faction, and they are sorely distressed about it. They say he is no statesman, and not much of a general, though he did bottle up Ben Butler, and they are shocked at the bare idea of such a man as Grant becoming the Republican candidate, especially as they have no assurance that he is perfectly sound on the radical creed. He is too reticent, by half. If he would only declare his opinions on the great issues of the day, he could settle all these doubts at once. Why don't he speak ont? Shall the Republican party bow down before him, cap in hand, and take him at a venture? Are principles to go for nothing? Such passing remarks as these feebly indicata the sore distress of the Chase radicals in regard

to General Grant.
The Democratic pipelayers and pumpers, Pendleton men and Seymour men, are equally

could only get him fully committed to the radicals or against the radicals we might manage him, they say. Why don't he speak And so radical and Copperhead managers seem equally determined, with all his smoking, to smoke him out. Forney comes out with a flaming radical manifesto, declaring that General Grant is sound as a roach, and safe; that his fast friend Elihu Washburne says so (huzzah!) and that settles the question. Straightway Montgomery Blair hurries over to see General Grant—sees him, talks to him, tries to pump him-and comes away with the report that what Forney says is all stuff. Forney retorts, in high dudgeon, that Blair's report is all gas, green cheese, and moonshins; and so it goes. "Old Ben Wade" says that when he attempted to sound General Grant on politics he talked horse, and nothing but horse; that he lit a fresh eigar and kept on twiking horse; and so it seems that none of these politicians are sharp enough to catch him or to smoke him out.

All right, General, all right. Stick to it. You have them on the hip; hold them there. The same rule of keeping your own counsels till ready for the battle will apply as well to political as to military operations. Remember that in 1844 the anti-Van Buren Democrats smoked out Van Buren in a letter on the Texas question, which killed him off in the nominating Baltimore party convention; that Henry Clay, in 1844, in consequence of a little Alabama letter on Texas during the campaign, lost the vote of New York, and so lost the White House; that Old Zack Taylor, in peremptorily and persistently refusing to make speeches, hold conversations, or write letters on the issues of the campaign in 1848, was most triumphantly lected; that thirteen Democratic candidates, who were smoked out in 1852 by a certain Major Donaldson, on the leading questions of that day, in advance, were all shelved at Baltimore, and that poor Pierce, who was not caught by Donaldson, got the prize. He was like the fox in the lion's den. He had too bad a cold to smell anything, and so he came off the winner. Old Buck pretty much the same. Let General Grant remember these things, and remember also that General Scott, in 1852, in answering all questions from all quarters, about everybody and everything, in writing letters and making speeches, made the most awful botch of it, and was defeated worse than Pemberton at Vicksburg, or Bragg at Chattanooga, or Lee at Petersburg and on the run to Appointation Court House. As for the Blair family, General-the old

Blair and all the young Blairs-give them a wide margin. Fremont can tell you all about the Blairs. They are Paul Prys, they are Marplets, they are troublesome customers. In fact, they are like the daughters of the horse-leech: their cry is "Give, give;" they are cadaverous, regular bloodsnekers, and they never have enough. Thurlow Weed is a queer fish of the same species, that get full of oil by suction-list fellows, brown on the back, white bellies, and always stir-ring up the mud. "Honest Old Abe" tried the Blairs-one of them in his Cabinet and the rest among the cooks in the kitchen; but with all the gentleness and patience of Lincoln, he at last had to say to the Cabinet Blair, "Your time has come;" and thus relieved of the tribe, great was the joy of "Old Abe." As for Forney, he is a regular horsefly, though pronounced by Andy Johnson a "dead duck, and when he comes buzzing about your flank switch him off, General, switch him off. This is the way to lix them. When any of these radical or Copperhead pumpers come to pump you, General, talk horse to them, as you talked him to "Old Ben Wade." Tell them of your black charger at Shiloh, and how he would compare with General Taylor's "Old Whitey. Tell them how Sheridan's horses went into the work at the Five Forks, and what fine trotters they have on the Eighth avenue, New York, and in the Jerome Park, and what splendid drives they have for a fast team on the plains of Long Branch; what fine driving you saw there among the ladies, "equal to two-forty on a plank road." Tell them that the Jersey horses, well in hand, "though rum uns to look at, are good uns to go." Tell them all the fine points of the famous stallion of John Minor Botts, and how it is that Mr. Johnson don't like niggers, dogs, or herses, but doats on a good milch cow. Talk to them on horses as a good disciple of the stout old King Gambrinus will talk on lager beer, and these inquisitive politicians will get out.

The country is satisfied, General, with your acts and your record, and so you may talk horse to these scurvy politicians till the day after the Presidential election.

The Alabama Convention.

From the N. Y. Tribune. The official proceedings of the first two days of the Constitutional Convention of Alabama have come to hand. We have examined them with some care in view of the persistent efforts of the aristocratic and ex-Rebel papers to bring this Convention and all of its class into ridicule. It must be remembered that the Republican party at the South corresponds in social position to the Democratic party at the North. Here the great "unwashed" party has never been ashamed of the fact that most of the ignorance, depravity, and dirt to be found at the North votes the Democratic ticket. It has professed to be proud of its devotion to the interests of political rights of the poor and the ignorant; and so far as it has been sincere in this principle we honor the party for it, and see therein a reason for its former great sucess and ascendancy.

But now that the boot is on the other leg, now that the working millions of the South stand identified with a party that has shown itself as democratic towards them as the old Democratic party at the North ever was towards the foreign and pauper vote, and, in onsequence, are voting the Republican ticket, does it behoove the professed organs of the poor of the North to turn up their noses because the poor of the South are meeting in convention and framing constitutions?

Can a party that sends to the Senate of the Inited States men who, like Saulsbury, Patterson, and the late McDougall, have often been too drunk to vote except as they were told, rightfully sneer if a convention of the laboring classes of a State in which Democracy has always reigned supreme shows some members but little acquainted with parliamentary

But, in fact, the Alabama Convention has done nothing as yet that does not characterize it as eminently worthy to represent the people Alabama, and fit in intelligence to represent any State in the Union. The Convention would have been more truly representative of the whole people of the State if the conservative party had voted, and elected about threefifths of the delegates, as they might have done. But consider what kind of a Convention the Democratic party in the State of New York would elect it all Republicans abstained

The conservative party might have elected to the Convention a minority of delegates whose manners would be highly polished, and

pro-slavery party sent to Congress but few men remarkable for either gentlemanly in-stincts or legislative talents. If brow-beating and bullying, gutta-percha canes, bowis-knives, and tobacco juice are qualifications to sit in a legislative body, the Convention now sitting for Alabama may be found tacking. If ardent devotion to slavery and the Rebellion be qualifications for a reconstruction conven tion, then the State of Alabama is in fearful peril from the machinations of the body now in session, for it contains none but loyal and thoroughly anti-slavery men. Already ordinances have been introduced annulling the laws passed under Rebe sway, whereby the money of the widows and orphans of Alabama was emptied into the bottomless treasury of the Confederate States, and never again heard from. It is this mea sure which the New York Herald styles "pursuing private fouds in public law." The statement that the Convention has even listened to. still less endorsed or adopted any measure o proscription or disfranchisement, is natrue, On the contrary, on the second day the Convention adopted a resolution memorializing Congress "to remove all political disabilities o those-citizens of Alabama who have aided in the reconstruction of the State on the pian proposed by Congress." As its first step has been against proscription, we have the right to believe it will go as far in its magnatimity as it can without surrendering the State to Rebels, disfranchising its own constituency, and overturning its own work. We hope and believe the Convention will endeavor fairly to represent the rights and interests of the whole people of Alabama.

Venerable Vivacity.

From the N. Y. Tribune. .We waited with some natural curiosity for the Te Down which we knew would be played upon the President's organ, with all the stops out and all the pedals in full activity, in henor of the late elections; but we were not prepared to find this superannuated old sheet, with supernatural friskiness, preluding its hymn with nine lines from Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. Musical disciplinarians might object to jigs on an organ; but an elation like that of the National Intelligencer is not to be restrained by the laws of science. It seems, we confess, a little inhuman to investigate critically the rationals of this magnificent joundity. The happiness of a flunkey may be stimulated by causes which hardly affect the feelings of human beings of a higher grade; and we are the more certain of this because when we come to inquire what there for instance, in the Massachusetts election which should rejoice the soul of the organ, as an organ, we find ourselves perplexed in the extreme. Governor Bullock the radical cagdidate for Governor, is reëlected by a majority of over 26,000. Young Mr. Adams, the Johnsonian candidate for Governor, is elected to the House of Representatives of he State! There is no pretense that there is not a large majority of Republicans returned to both branches of the Legislature. In view of this result, the Intelligencer cries, out that radicalism is near its end. However this may be, it is clear enough that a Johnson party in Massachusetts is nowhere near its beginning. What, pray, has the question of rum or no rum in Massachusetts to do with "My Policy" in Washington? It has nothing to do, we may be sure, even with his Excellency's private decanters. They will be filled and they will be emptied without the slightest reference to Massachusetts laws. So far as there is any expression of opinion in regard to his administration in this State, it is most emphatically against him. His man is decidedly defeated the other man is just as decidedly elected; and if the President anticipates any aid or comfort, or expression of approbation from the Legislature just chosen, he may make up his mind to be frightfully disappointed. His happiness. therefore, however great, can hardly be considered as rational. This is a consideration which continually suggests itself as we run the eye over the Intelligencer's exuberant paragraphs. It claims the credit of victories which bear no relation whatever to the Adminis tration. Even here in New York, it would be difficult to find a single Democrat who would allow that, in contending for success he has been working for the President. When A. J. rushes in uninvited and unwelcome, to participate in the Democratic festivities, nobody bids him welcome-nobody takes him cordially by the hand, and says:-"This all your doing, dear Andy!" Nobody whispers that he must be the Democratic candidate for the Presidency; nobody cares a straw either for his happiness or his misery. He will find ere long that the strength of the party to whose skirts, with pitiable, upturned ace, he is clinging, is simply his own weakness. The greater its majorities, the less likely s he to receive its support. The more inde endent it may be, the more likely it is to look pon him with good-natured contempt. In an emergency it might need him; in prosperity it will regard him simply as a botheraion and a puisance. He may think differently now, but time will show that we are right. I s very easy for the organ to say that the De-

mocratic majority is "wondrous strong," Yet lovely in its strength, as in the light Of a dark eye in woman,

If that "dark eye" shall be found amorously gling the beloved Andy in 1868, it will be ecause the brains above it have become pitiully softened.

the Treasury Department and the Whisky Tax. From the N. Y. World.

The most gigantic and methodized system of raud by which rapacity was ever enriched at he expense of a nation's revenue, has been or many months in successful operation in his country, to the disgrace of the important epartment of which Mr. McCulloch is the igure-head. Who is the pilot, or whether it riits without any, are mysteries not yet penerated by the public. According to the estinates of leading Republican journals, from one to two hundred million dollars a year are lost by unrestrained frauds. The proofs of their prevalence have long been notorious, aithough he public may have little precise knowledge of their methods. The fact that the average price of whisky has long been less than the ax, proves that there can be no honest distilation. Who believes that any manufacturer ontinues a business wherein, besides his other xpenses, he pays two dollars a gallon to the Government, and sells the product at one dol-

ar and ninety cents ! Mr. McCullech recognized the existence of here frauds, and the necessity of repressing them when, without any warrant of law or color of authority, he constituted the board in this city which has proved as inedicient as himself. We have no intention of attacking the honesty of that board until we are more perplexed with the same obstacle. There is whose familiarity with the rules of order we could put to its officers some embarrassing Grant. What are we to do with him? If we would have facilitated the work of the Con-questions. We expect soon to construct a fully in possession of the facts; but even now

vention. We say they might, though the | catechism for these hopeful neophytes in the art of protecting the revenue, and we shall not be surprised if the shrinking modesty of the catechumens interferes with the clearness and alacrity of their answers, and prevents a very satisfactory exhibition of their proficiency. We expect, moreover, to show, by carefully tabulated returns, that the amount of the whisky tax collected under their regime, instead of being greater, as has been claimed, is considerably less than before.

We postpone our catechism for the sake of asking a question, which the public is as well qualified to put without any minute know-ledge of facts as we are with. Why did not this pet Board anticipate Collector Bailey in the wholesale seizures by which he has startled, amszed the country? Mr. Bailey was appointed to collect the revenue in one of the districts of this city; the Board to watch over the interests of the revenue in all the districts of the metropolis and the neighboring cities. How does it happen that the Board has, from first to last, exhibited nothing but piddling inefliciency, while this alert individual. though burdened with more local duties than any other collector in the United States, makes seizures on so gigantic a scale that his operations cover the whole country from Boston to St. Louis? It is not our purpose to discuss at present the merits of Collector Bailey. His motives are of no public consequence. It is all the same, as far as the efficiency of Secretary McCulloch and his Revenue Board are concerned, whether Mr. Bailey is public-spirited or merely officious; whether he is seeking an honorable notoriety or merely his share of fort-ited property. Time, which tries all things, will also test him; and if he goes through as he has begun without flinching, he will have rendered an important public service.

The point to which we are concerned to call attention is the demonstrated imbecility of the Treasury Department, and its unauthorized machinery for the detection and prevention of frauds. If it be said that the whisky knaves are so covert and cunning that their operations cannot be tracked, the public will at once ask how then it has happened that within a short time a single individual has been able to unravel so extensive a web? If one collector, with the business of perhaps the heaviest district on his hands, can detect and clean out the whisky rogues, not only of his own, but half the important districts of the country, that fast not only exposes the imbecility of the Revenue Board, but explodes and puts to shame the pretense that the revenue service needed to be supplemented by any such extra-legal resort. If one efficient collector is capable of ferreting out these frauds, not only in his own district, but in dozens of others, what but bad appointments or want of vigor in the Department should prevent the whole body of collectors from dealing decisively with the whole magnitude of the evil? What one man has done is surely not beyond the competence of a wellorganized and vigorously superintended revenne service; and whatever credit his achievements may be thought to reflect on himself, they certainly reflect greater disgrace on the Department which is distanced and eclipsed by

one of its local officers. The chief duty of the Secretary of the Treasurv is to protect the revenues of the Government; and when he permits them to slip through his fingers into the pockets of dishonest distillers who outwit and circumvent him at the rate of a hundred millions a year, he demonstrates his total unfitness for his position. Of course, he can find excuses by magnifying obstacles; it is the peculiar province of feebleness to discover apologies as it is of vigor and capacity accomplish results in spite of them. What has Mr. McCulloch done to protect the revenue against the whisky frauds? What measure has he initiated for discomfiting the knaves who are diverting the most fruitful source of internal revenue from the Treasury to their private bank accounts? Done He has done nothing, and left undone everything a vigilant officer ought to do. And to screen his debility, he has overstepped the law by creating a revenue board as shiftless and helpless as himself; a board which for a year or more has met in a room somewhere in Cedar street, and dawdled over we know not what insignificant details, while every distillery in the city, and every bonded warehouse, was a focus of undetected frauds. And while this dawdling over small oozing leaks is enacting with the revenue streaming out of a thousand bung-holes, the Secretary of the Treasury is a helpless spectator, neither abolishing the board for its inefficiency, nor starting any other machinery for abating the frauds which have grown up under his administration to such prodigious, such astounding proportions.

We have stood by Mr. McCulloch as far and as long as it was in our power. We must now tell him, in all honest frankness, that he does not possess the confidence of this commercial metropolis, and that the enormity of the rands which have lately been exposed without any agency of his, must cost him the respect of the whole country. The people feel that they have had enough of well-meaning incompetence, and as Mr. McCulloch makes a practical confession of his incapacity to protect the revenue, it is time he retired and gave place to an officer of more energy and ability.

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